Grenfell + Hunt: Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel.

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND
GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

FRAGMENT OF AN UNCANONICAL GOSPEL

FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

EDITED, WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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WITH ONE PLATE

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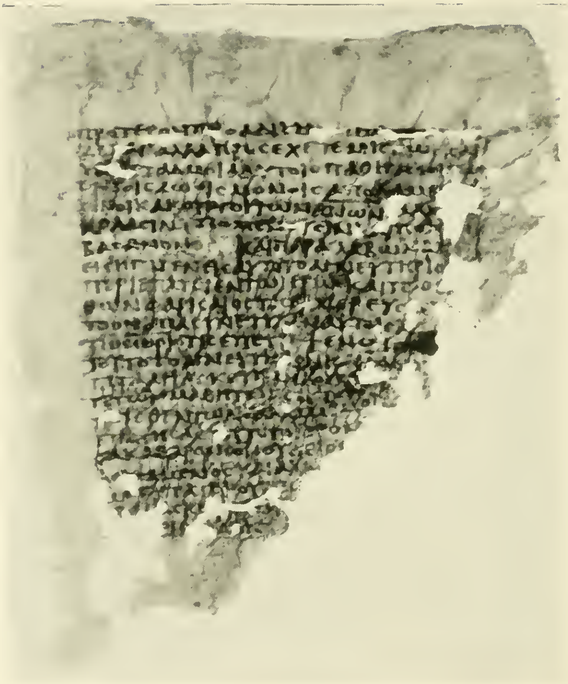
1908

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Verso

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OXFORD
HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

The present edition of the *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel* is reprinted with slight alterations from the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part V, no. 840, where a collotype reproduction is given.

We are indebted to Prof. E. Schürer for several suggestions in the interpretation of the fragment.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Queen's College, Oxford,
November, 1907.

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FRAGMENT

OF AN

UNCANONICAL GOSPEL

I. INTRODUCTION

This fragment was found in December, 1905, in a mound at Oxyrhynchus which was remarkably rich in pieces of theological and classical MSS. It consists of a single vellum leaf, measuring 8·8 × 7·4 cm., practically complete except at one of the lower corners, and here most of the lacunae admit of a satisfactory restoration. The book to which the leaf belonged was of remarkably modest dimensions, but though the written surface only slightly exceeds two inches square the scribe has succeeded in compressing forty-five lines into the two pages. He used a small and not very regular uncial hand, round and upright, of a type pointing, we think, to a fourth rather than a fifth century date. A later date than the fifth century, to which most of the papyri found with the fragment belonged, is out of the question. A peculiarity is the employment of red ink to outline and bring into greater prominence the dots of punctuation (in the middle position), initial letters of sentences, strokes of abbreviation, and even accents, of which two examples occur (ll. 23 and 36). Longer pauses are marked not only by dots but also by short blank spaces, and the following letter, besides being sometimes ornamented with red, is rather enlarged. Of the contractions usual in theological MSS. $\overline{\alpha\nu o\varsigma}$ (ἄνθρωπος), $\overline{\delta\delta}$ (Δαυείδ), and $\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$ (σωτήρ) are found. ν at the end of a line, in order to save space, is sometimes written as a horizontal stroke above the preceding vowel: and there is one apparent instance (l. 9) of the use of the common angular sign to complete a line shorter than its neighbours. In three cases words originally omitted have been supplied, all these interlineations most

probably being by the original hand. The scribe apparently was particularly liable to omission, and in one or two other places supplements seem to be required; cf. l. 1 and notes on ll. 3–7 and 40.

The bulk of the fragment is concerned with a conversation between Jesus and a chief priest, which takes place in the Temple at Jerusalem, the episode, which is of a dramatic character, being preserved almost complete. It is preceded by the conclusion of a speech of Jesus to His disciples, exhorting them to avoid the example of certain wrong-doers and warning them of the penalties which await the latter both in this world and the next (ll. 1-7). What particular class is referred to in this passage is not clear. Jesus, who throughout the fragment is called simply 'the Saviour', then takes His disciples with Him inside the Temple to the 'place of purification', by which the author of the gospel perhaps meant the 'court of the men of Israel', though how far this use of the term is legitimate is doubtful (ll. 7–9; cf. l. 8, note). They are there met by a chief priest who is also a Pharisee, but whose name is quite uncertain (l. 10, note). The chief priest reproaches them for having neglected to perform the necessary ceremonies of ablution and change of garments before entering the holy place and looking upon the sacred vessels (ll. 12–21). A short dialogue ensues in which Jesus asks the chief priest if he is pure, and the latter answers recounting the different purificatory rites which he had himself observed (ll. 21–30). To this Jesus delivers an eloquent and crushing reply contrasting outward with inward purity, the external bathing prescribed by Jewish ritual with the inward cleansing which He and His followers had received in the waters of eternal life (ll. 30–45). Before the conclusion of the speech is reached the fragment breaks off.

In its general outline the episode described resembles Matt. xv. 1–20, Mark vii. 1–23, where the Pharisees reproach Jesus because the disciples did not wash their hands when they ate bread, and are strongly rebuked; but the scene is there not Jerusalem but near Gennesaret, and the other details are of course different. The contrast between outward religious observance and inward purity was one of the most salient points in Christ's teaching, and is illustrated not only by the canonical gospels but by other uncanonical utterances ascribed to our Lord, e. g. the second saying of the first series of *Sayings*

of Jesus ('Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God'), and the fifth of the second series ('His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we pray?' etc.). Even more clearly than the *Fragment of a lost Gospel* published with the *New Sayings of Jesus* (*Oxyrh. Pap.* IV, no. 655), the present fragment belongs to a narrative covering the same ground as the canonical gospels. That this was composed with a view to advocating the tenets of a particular sect is not indicated by anything in its contents; for though ll. 41–4 when separated from their context might conceivably be adduced as an argument for denying the necessity of the use of water at baptism, *βαπτίζειν* is not there used in its technical Christian sense (cf. l. 15, note), and in other respects the fragment is quite orthodox. A possible point of connexion with the Gnostics may be found in the noticeable fact that our Lord is called not 'Jesus' or 'the Lord' but 'the Saviour', a title which Irenaeus (I. i. 3) reproaches the Valentinian Ptolemaeus for using to the exclusion of 'the Lord'; cf. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, i. p. 124. But the use of 'Saviour' simply to designate Jesus is of course common in other early Christian writers, and though its employment indicates that this gospel belongs to a later stage of development than the canonical gospels, in which it only occurs in Luke ii. 11, 'for there is born to you this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord,' and John iv. 42, 'for we have heard for ourselves and know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world,' this is not sufficient to establish a Gnostic origin for the fragment. It is, however, enough to exclude the likelihood that it comes from either the Gospel according to the Hebrews or that according to the Egyptians. For though 'Saviour' is used in introducing quotations from those gospels by Origen (*In Ioann.* ii. 6 *τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ φησιν· ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με κ.τ.λ.*) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 62. 2) *ἐν αὐτῷ* (sc. the Gospel according to the Egyptians) *γὰρ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριώδως ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναφέρεται ὡς αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς κ.τ.λ.*, the evidence of the extant quotations themselves indicates that 'Lord' was the title commonly employed, as in the Gospel of Peter. In the absence of any definite resemblances between our fragment and the scanty remains of the various uncanonical gospels composed in the second or third century, it is best classed as belonging

to a gospel distinct from any of them. The chief point of interest in it lies in the references to Jewish ceremonies of purification in connexion with the Temple-worship, about which the author at first sight shows an intimate knowledge. On some points the statements in the fragment find support in the extant authorities for the Temple-ritual at the time of Christ. Thus Josephus states that no Jew who was unclean had the right to be admitted to the inner court of the Temple, i. e. that known as the 'court of the men of Israel' (cf. l. 8, note), and the statement put into the mouth of the chief priest concerning the necessity of ceremonial washing and putting on white garments is in accordance with the regulations for priests described in the Mishnah (cf. ll. 25 and 27, notes). But that an ordinary Jew before visiting the inner court of the Temple had to wash and change his clothes as stated in ll. 18–20 is not confirmed by any other evidence; and neither the 'place of purification' in l. 8 nor the 'pool of David' in l. 25 are mentioned elsewhere, while considerable difficulty arises in connexion with the 'sacred vessels' which are stated to have been visible from the court to which Jesus and His disciples had penetrated; cf. ll. 12–21, note. Moreover the two stairways leading down to the 'pool of David' and still more the statement that dogs and swine were cast into it (ll. 33–4) seem to be details invented for the sake of rhetorical effect, for that a high priest washed himself in a pool of the character described in the fragment is incredible. So great indeed are the divergences in this account from the extant and no doubt well informed authorities with regard to the topography and ritual of the Temple, that it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that much of the local colour is due to the imagination of the author, who was aiming chiefly at dramatic effect and was not really well acquainted with the Temple. But if the inaccuracy of the fragment in this important respect is admitted, the historical character of the whole episode breaks down, and it is probably to be regarded as an apocryphal elaboration of Matt. xv. 1–20 and Mark vii. 1–23. In these circumstances the gospel to which the fragment belongs can hardly have been composed before the middle of the second century. The use of the term 'Saviour' and the fact that the manuscript itself was written in the fourth or possibly even the fifth century may be represented as arguments for a third century date, but that seems to us improbable. After the four

canonical gospels had come to be exclusively used in most churches, a process which was complete by the end of the second century (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* ii. p. 699), no new gospel covering the same ground could look for more than a very limited acceptance, and after about A. D. 180 authors of apocryphal gospels generally avoided competition with the canonical gospels by placing their supposed revelations in the period of the Childhood or after the Resurrection. Moreover, if the author of our fragment wrote in the third century, we should expect him to betray a definitely heretical point of view, which, as we have said, is not discernible. That the fragment is Egyptian in origin is very likely, but it stands much nearer to the Gospel according to the Egyptians which was composed in the second century, probably before the middle of it, than e. g. to the Pistis Sophia which was written in the third. The literary quality also of the fragment does not favour a very late date ; the style is more ambitious than that of the canonical gospels, and the rhetorical tendency of the composer, who uses a number of words not found in the New Testament, is somewhat pronounced, but he is more successful in catching something of the genuine ring than many of the authors of apocryphal gospels. Hence we prefer to regard the work to which our fragment belongs as composed before A. D. 200. While the story of the dialogue between Christ and the chief priest has no claim to be accepted as authentic, and is probably a secondary or even tertiary production, the fragment is an interesting and valuable addition to the scanty remnant of the numerous uncanonical traditions concerning Christ's teaching which were current in many Christian communities, especially in Egypt, during the third and fourth centuries.

II. TEXT

We give first a literal transcript, followed by a reconstruction in modern form. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a contraction, angular brackets ⟨⟩ a mistaken omission. Letters with dots beneath them are uncertain.

Verso

ΠΡΟΤЄΡΟΝΠΡΟΑΔΙΚΗϹ̣Α̣Ι̣Π̣Α̣Ν̣Τ̣Α̣Ϲ̣Ο̣Φ̣Ι̣
ΖЄΤΑΙ·ΑΛΛΑΠΡΟϹЄΧЄΤЄΜΗΠωϹΚΑΙ
ΫΜЄΙϹΤΑΟΜΟΙΑΑΥΤΟΙϹΠΑΘΗΤЄ·ΟΥΓΑΡ
ЄΝΤΟΙϹΖωΟΙϹΜΟΝΟΙϹΑΠΟΛΑΜΒΑ̣Ν̣Ο̣Υ
ϹΙΝΟΙΚΑΚΟΥΡΓΟΙΤωΝΑ̅Ν̅ω̅Ν̅·ΑΛΛΑ̣[.]Α̣Ι̣
ΚΟΛΑϹΙΝΫΠΟΜЄΝΟΥϹΙΝΚΑΙΠΟΛ[.]ΗΝ
ΒΑϹΑΝΟΝ· ΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΛΑΒωΝΑΥΤΟΥϹ
ЄΙϹΗΓΑΓЄΝЄΙϹΑΥΤΟΤΟΑΓΝЄΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ̣Κ̣Α̣Ι̣
ΠЄΡΙЄΠΑΤЄΙЄΝΤωΙЄΡω·ΚΑΙΠΡΟϹ̣Є̣[.]⟩
ΘωΝΦΑΡΙϹΑΙΟϹΤΙϹΑΡΧΙЄΡЄΥϹΛ̣Є̣Υ̣[. . .]
ΤΟΟΝΟΜΑϹΥΝЄΤΥΧЄΝΑΥΤΟΙϹΚΑΙЄ̣[. . .] . [
ΤωϹ̅ω̅Ρ̅Ι̅·ΤΙϹЄΠЄΤΡЄΨЄΝϹΟΙΠΑΤ[. . . .
ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΑΓΝЄΥΤΗΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΪΔЄΙΝ[. . . .
ΤЄ
ΤΑΤΑΑΓΙΑϹΚЄΥΗΜΗΛΟΥϹΑ[.]Є̣Ν̣[.]Μ̣[. .
ΜΗΝ
ΤЄΤωΝΜΑΘΗΤωΝϹΟΥΤΟΥϹ̣Π̣[. . . . . .
ΠΤΙϹΘЄΝΤωΝ·ΑΛΛΑΜЄΜΟΛΥ[. . . . . .
ЄΠΑΤΗϹΑϹΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΪЄΡΟΝΤ̣[. . . . .
ΤΑΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ·ΟΝΟΥΔЄΙϹΑ̣[. . . . .
ΛΟΥϹΑΜЄΝΟϹΚΑΙΑΛΛΑ̣[. . . . .
ΜΑΤΑΠΑΤЄΙ·ΟΥΔЄΟ̣[. . . . .
Τ̣Α̣ΑΓΙΑϹΚЄΥ̣Η·ΚΑΙϹ̣[. . . . .
. [. . .]ΟΙϹΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ[. . . . .

Recto

Ϲ̣Υ̣Ο̣Υ̣Ν̣ЄΝΤΑΥΘΑῶΝЄΝΤωΪЄΡω·ΚΑΘΑ
ЄΚЄΙΝΟϹ
ΡЄΥЄΙϹ·ΛЄΓЄΙΑΥΤωΚΑΘΑΡЄΥω·ЄΛΟ̣ΥϹΑ
ΜΗΝΓΑΡЄΝΤΗΛΙΜΝΗΤΟΥΔ̅Δ̅·ΚΑΙΔΙЄΤЄ
ΡΑϹΚΛЄΙΜΑΚΟϹΚΑΤЄΛΘωΝΔΙЄΤЄΡΑϹ
Α̣[.]ΗΛΘΟΝ·ΚΑΙΛЄΥΚΑЄΝΔΥΜΑΤΑЄΝЄ
ΔΥϹΑΜΗΝ·ΚΑΙΚΑΘΑΡΑΚΑΙΤΟΤЄΗΛΘΟ̄
ΚΑΙΠΡΟϹЄΒΛЄΨΑΤΟΥΤΟΙϹΤΟΙϹΑΓΙΟΙϹ

πρότερον πρὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἀδικῆσαι πάντα σοφίζεται. ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μή πως καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς πάθητε· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς μόνοις ἀπολαμβάνουσιν οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων ἀλλὰ [κ]αὶ κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν καὶ πολ[λ]ὴν βάσανον. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἁγνευτήριον καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. καὶ προσε[λ]θὼν Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εὶς ?] τὸ ὄνομα συνέτυχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ε[ἶπε]ν τῷ σω(τῆ)ρι, τίς ἐπέτρεψέν σοι πατ[εῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἁγνευτήριον καὶ ἰδεῖν [ταῦτα τὰ ἅγια σκεύη μήτε λουσα[μ]έν[ῳ] μ[ήτε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[όδας βαπτισθέντων; ἀλλὰ μεμολυ[μμένος ἐπάτησας τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν τ[όπον ὄντα καθαρόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος εἰ μὴ λουσάμενος καὶ ἀλλά[ξας τὰ ἐνδύματα πατεῖ, οὐδὲ ὁ[ρᾶν τολμᾷ ταῦτα τὰ ἅγια σκεύη. καὶ σ[τὰς εὐθέως ὁ σω(τὴ)ρ σ[ὺν τ]οῖς μαθηταῖ[ς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ,

σὺ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ὢν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθαρεύεις; λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος, καθαρεύω· ἐλουσάμην γὰρ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ(αυεὶ)δ καὶ δι' ἑτέρας κλίμακος κατελθὼν δι' ἑτέρας ἀ[ν]ῆλθον, καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνεδυσάμην καὶ καθαρά, καὶ τότε ἦλθον καὶ προσέβλεψα τούτοις τοῖς ἁγίοις

CKЄYЄCIN· OC̄ω̄P̄ΠPOCAYTONAΠO
[. . .]ΘЄICЄIΠЄN·OYAITYΦΛOIMHOPω̄
T[.]C·CYЄΛOYCωTOYTOICTOICXЄOMЄNOIC
Ỵ[.]ẠCỊЄNOICKYNЄCKAIXOIPOIBЄBΛHN
[. . .]NYKTOCKAIHMЄPAC·KAINIΨAMЄ
[. .]ỌCTOЄKTOCΔЄPMAЄCMHΞω·OΠЄP
[. .]ỊAỊΠOPNAIKAIA[.]AYΛHTPÍΔЄCMYPI
[. .]ỌỴ[. . .]ẠỊΛOYOYCINKAICMHXOYCI
[. . .]AΛΛωΠIZOYCIΠPOCЄΠIΘYMI
[. .]ωNĀN̄ω̄N̄·ЄNΔOΘЄNΔЄЄKЄI
[. . . . . .]HPωTAICKOPΠIωNKAI
[. . . . . . .]KIAC· ЄΓωΔЄKAIOI
[. . . . .]OYCΛЄΓЄICMHBЄBA[.]
[. . . . .]ṂMЄΘAЄNŸΔACIZω[.]
[. . . . .]ÇЄΛΘOYCIAΠ̣Ọ . . [.]
[. . . . .]ẠAOYAỊ[.]OIC[. . .].

III. TRANSLATION

. . . before he does wrong makes all manner of subtle excuse. But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they; for the evil-doers among men receive their reward not among the living only, but also await punishment and much torment.

And he took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple.

And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi(?), met them and said to the Saviour, Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels.

And the Saviour straightway stood still with his disciples and answered him, Art thou then, being here in the temple, clean?

He saith unto him, I am clean; for I washed in the pool

σκεύεσιν. ὁ σω(τὴ)ρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπο-
[κρι]θεὶς εἶπεν, οὐαί, τυφλοὶ μὴ ὁρῶν-
τ[ε]ς· σὺ ἐλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις
ὕ[δ]ασιν ἐν οἷς κύνες καὶ χοῖροι βέβλην-
[ται] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ νιψάμε-
[ν]ος τὸ ἐκτὸς δέρμα ἐσμήξω, ὅπερ
[κα]ὶ αἱ πόρναι καὶ α[ἱ] αὐλητρίδες μυρί-
[ζ]ου[σιν κ]αὶ λούουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι
[καὶ κ]αλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμί-
[αν τ]ῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων· ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἐκεῖ-
[ναι πεπλ]ήρω(ν)ται σκορπίων καὶ
[πάσης κα]κίας. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ
[μαθηταί μου] οὓς λέγεις μὴ βεβα-
[πτίσθαι βεβά]μμεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζω-
[ῆς αἰωνίου τοῖ]ς ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ . . [.]
[. . . . . ἀλ]λὰ οὐαὶ [τ]οῖς [. . .].

of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels.

The Saviour answered and said unto him, Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also the harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from . . . But woe unto the . . .

IV. COMMENTARY

3–7. This sentence is very obscurely worded, and perhaps corrupt. The contrast is, we think, between punishment in this life and in the world to come; hence we prefer ζωοῖς 'living' to ζῴοις 'animals'. The use of ζωός, a poetical word employed also by Xenophon, is curious, but ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις seems to yield no

sense. The absence of an object for ἀπολαμβάνουσιν (e. g. τὸν μισθόν) is awkward, even if one could be supplied from the sentence preceding l. 1; and after ἀλλὰ καί a phrase to balance ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς would be expected. Possibly some words have dropped out; the scribe seems to have been rather prone to omission. For 'punishment' in reference to the next world cf. Matt. xxv. 46 'And these shall go away into eternal punishment': 'torment' is not so used in the N. T., though cf. Matt. xviii. 34 'And his lord was wroth and delivered him to the tormentors;' υπομενουσιν may be future, but the present tense makes a better contrast to ἀπολαμβάνουσιν.

8. ἁγνευτήριον: this term is not found elsewhere in connexion with the Temple, and what the author of this gospel exactly meant by it is not clear. The context shows that it was within the inner enclosure, and ll. 12–13, where πατ[εῖν] τοῦτο τὸ ἁγνευτήριον corresponds to περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, suggest that it was a large open court rather than a particular room, especially as the term 'place of purification' is not a suitable description for any of the known rooms in Herod's Temple. The 'Chamber of Washers' (*Middoth* v. 4) was employed for cleansing the inwards of the offerings, not for ceremonial ablutions. If ἁγνευτήριον implies a place where rites of purification were performed, the only part of the Temple to which the name would be at all appropriate is the space round the brazen laver, which stood between the Temple-porch and the altar, having succeeded to the 'molten sea' of Solomon's Temple (cf. l. 25, note). But this is not likely to be the meaning of ἁγνευτήριον, for the brazen laver was in the court of the priests, which could not be entered by lay Israelites except for purposes of sacrifice (*Kelim* i. 8 quoted in Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. p. 273), and other indications in the papyrus (cf. ll. 12–21, note) besides the general probabilities of the case suggest that Jesus and His disciples had not penetrated further than the 'court of the men of Israel', which was outside the priests' court. If ἁγνευτήριον is legitimately used of the 'court of the men of Israel', the term seems to be applied to it not because it was a place where purification was performed but because it could only be entered by Israelites who were perfectly pure; cf. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* v. 5 ἀνδρῶν δ' οἱ μὴ καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες εἴργοντο τῆς ἔνδον αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πάλιν οἱ μὴ καθαρεύοντες εἴργοντο, and *Contra Apion.* ii. 8 *in tertia* (sc. *porticu*) *masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque*

purificati (sc. *ingrediebantur*). But it may be doubted whether the author of this gospel had any clear conception of the topography of the Temple, and the employment of the term ἁγνευτήριον may be a mere error; cf. Introduction.

10. Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεύς: by 'chief priests' in the N. T. and Josephus are meant primarily the chief priest actually in office and his predecessors, but also secondly members of the families from which the chief priests were drawn; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 221–4. There is therefore no necessity for this person to have been the chief priest in office at the moment. Most of the chief priests were Sadducees, and hence are often in the N. T. contrasted with the Pharisees, but instances of chief priests who were Pharisees occur; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. p. 201. The combination 'a certain Pharisee, a chief priest' is therefore quite legitimate, and such a person is particularly appropriate as the champion of external purity; cf. ll. 24–30.

Λευ[είς]: the reading is extremely doubtful, but neither Ἄνν[ας nor Και[άφας is admissible. The first two letters, if not λε, seem to be ασ, and the third, if not υ, to be ι or κ.

12–21. From this speech of the Pharisee it appears firstly that entrance to that part of the Temple to which Jesus and His disciples had penetrated was permitted only to those who had either bathed (l. 19 λουσάμενος; cf. l. 24) or at any rate had washed their feet, and had put on fresh clothes; secondly that from this part of the Temple the holy vessels were visible. The principal holy vessels, e. g. the table of shewbread and the seven-branched candlestick, stood in the *hekal* or larger room of the sanctuary; but this was only entered by the officiating priests, and the writer of this gospel is not likely to have been so ignorant of the facts concerning the Temple-service as to suppose that Jesus and His disciples could have wished to enter the sanctuary, much less that they could have succeeded in doing so without opposition from the Temple guards and with no stronger remonstrance from the chief priest than that related here. Other sacred vessels were kept in the small chambers (38 in number), which surrounded the sanctuary on all sides except that of the porch; cf. *Middoth* iv. These chambers were apparently entered from the inside of the building, so that in order to reach them it would be necessary to pass through the Temple-porch, and their contents can hardly have been visible from the priests' court which immediately surrounded the

Temple-building, much less from the court of the men of Israel which was outside the court of the priests. Since the court of the priests was accessible to lay Israelites only for the purpose of sacrificing at the great altar, it is almost as difficult to suppose that Jesus and His disciples penetrated to these chambers as that they entered the sanctuary. The nature of the remonstrance addressed to them by the chief priest, who reproaches them not with being laymen but with being unclean, suggests that the scene of the conversation is the court of the men of Israel, which, as Josephus says, could only be entered by the *mundi atque purificati* or καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες (cf. l. 8, note). Hence if 'holy vessels' implies more than the bronze laver, and the rings, tables, and other accessories of the sacrifices, all of which objects, being outside the Temple-building, would be visible from the court of the men of Israel, the author of this gospel has fallen into a somewhat serious error. Moreover, the statement in ll. 18–20 that bathing and changing of clothes were required from ordinary Israelites when visiting the Temple is not confirmed by anything in the authorities, which record the observance of these formalities only in the case of the officiating priests; cf. ll. 25 and 27, notes. Josephus's reference to καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες probably means merely persons who were Levitically pure, and does not imply the performance of special rites of purification. Schürer, therefore, seems to be right in supposing that the author of the gospel has by mistake referred to laymen the regulations applicable only to priests.

15. βα]πτισθέντων: βαπτίζειν is used here and in l. 42 not in the ordinary technical sense of baptizing, but with reference to ceremonial ablution, as in Luke xi. 38 ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου, and perhaps in Mark vii. 4 ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσι, where the reading is doubtful; cf. also Sir. xxxi. 25 βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ.

20. ὁ[ρᾶν; σ may be read in place of ο.

25. τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ(αυεί)δ: 'the pool of David' is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is not clear what the author of the gospel meant by it, or where it was situated. Schürer thinks that it refers to the 'brazen' or 'molten sea' set up by Solomon between the porch and the altar (1 Kings vii. 23, 2 Chron. iv. 2). This was a large laver supported by 12 brazen oxen, and containing according to 1 Kings 2000, according to 2 Chron. 3000, baths of water. It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar

(2 Kings xxv. 13, 16, Jer. lii. 17, 20), and though if Sir. l. 3 may be trusted the second Temple also had its brazen sea, Herod's Temple did not possess one. In its place there was firstly a bronze laver between the porch and altar (*Middoth* iii. 6, &c.; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. p. 283) in which the officiating priests had to wash their hands and feet, and secondly a room fitted up with baths for daily use by the officiating priests before entering on their duties; cf. *Testam. XII Patriarch.*, *Levi* 9 *καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια λούου*, and the authorities from the Mishnah cited by Schürer, *l. c.* This room, which is called in *Middoth* i. 9 'the house of baptism', was reached by a passage from the Temple-building, and was clearly outside the Temple-enclosure. That the author of the gospel had in his mind the 'brazen sea' seems to us improbable, since the pool is called after David, not Solomon, and while the brazen sea stood close to the Temple-building itself, the pool which had two staircases leading down to it (ll. 25-6) and into which dogs and swine are cast (l. 33) is evidently conceived of as being outside the Temple (presumably in the valley below), and thus fulfilling the functions ascribed in the Mishnah to the 'house of baptism'. Whether a pool called after David really existed is, however, very doubtful, for the details concerning it are more picturesque than convincing. The subtle distinction of the different stairways for the use of the clean and unclean, though plausible in itself, is in the absence of corroboration more likely to be due to the imagination of the author of the gospel than to have an historical basis, and the casting of dogs and swine into the pool looks like a rhetorical exaggeration; cf. note *ad loc.*

27. *λευκὰ ἐνδύματα*: on this detail, that the officiating priests put on special garments, white in colour, the author of the gospel is correct (cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* pp. 281-2), as he is with regard to the necessity for their taking a daily bath before entering on their religious duties; cf. l. 25, note, and Introduction.

31. *οὐαί, τυφλοί*: the dative is more common after *οὐαί*, as in l. 45; but cf. Luke vi. 25 *οὐαί, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε*, where there is an ellipse of *ὑμῖν*, and Rev. xviii. 16 *οὐαὶ οὐαί, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη*.

33. *χοῖροι*: that swine were not uncommon in Palestine at the time of Christ is proved by Matt. vii. 61, viii. 30, and Luke xv. 15. The reference to the dogs and swine is introduced to

heighten the effect of the contrast with the waters of life in ll. 43–4. The author of the gospel may well have had in his mind the stagnant pools which are a common feature of Egyptian villages, but the description is incredible when applied to a pool in which a chief priest bathed, and as a piece of rhetoric somewhat overshoots the mark; for the real point of the contrast between the two kinds of purification is not that the water was in the one case unclean, but that it cleansed only the outward skin, whereas the other form of purification was spiritual.

36. αἱ πόρναι καὶ α[ἱ] αὐλητρίδες: cf. for this collocation τρεῖς γὰρ δούλους περιεῖχε τὸν μὲν καταφαγόντα τὴν ὕπαρξιν μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητρίδων in the Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν εὐαγγέλιον quoted by Eusebius in his *Theophania* (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 388).

39. ἔνδοθεν δέ, κ.τ.λ.: cf. the denunciations of the Pharisees in Matt. xxiii. 25 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye cleanse the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full from extortion and excess;' 33 'Ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers;' Luke xi. 39 'but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness (πονηρίας; cf. κα]κίας in l. 41).

40. πεπλ]ήρω⟨ν⟩ται: it would be possible to retain πεπλ]ήρωται by reading ἐκεῖνα in place of ἐκεῖναι, but such a use of the neuter plural is unlikely.

42. βεβα[[πτίσθαι: or βεβα[π]][τίσθαι; but cf. ll. 15–16 βα]]πτισθέντων.

43. βεβά]μμεθα: α, δ, or λ could be read in place of the doubtful μ, but not σ or υ, so that λελο]ύμεθα and βεβαπτί]σμεθα (which is also too long) are excluded, and βεβά]μμεθα is practically certain. βάπτειν is a less technical word than βαπτίζειν, but there is, we think, no real distinction intended between the two terms here, since βαπτίζειν is not employed in its technical sense; cf. l. 15, note.

43–4. ζω[ῆς: or ζῶ[σι ('i. e. living waters'), with another word in place of αἰωνίου. The letter before ἐλθοῦσιν may be τ or υ instead of σ, so that κα]τελθοῦσιν is possible. 'Living water' occurs in John iv. 10, 11, and vii. 38, 'water of life' in Rev. vii. 17, xxi. 6, xxii. 1 and 17. ἀπό, if correct, was no doubt followed by some words like τῶν οὐρανῶν or τοῦ πατρός.

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